

SURVEY OF BEACH FACILITIES

DURBAN - MAY 1982

INCLUDING INVESTIGATION OF ATTITUDES

OF RESIDENTS AND TOURISTS TOWARDS

THE DESEGREGATION OF BATTERY BEACH II

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CASS

DURBAN      JANUARY 1983

CASS Thesis

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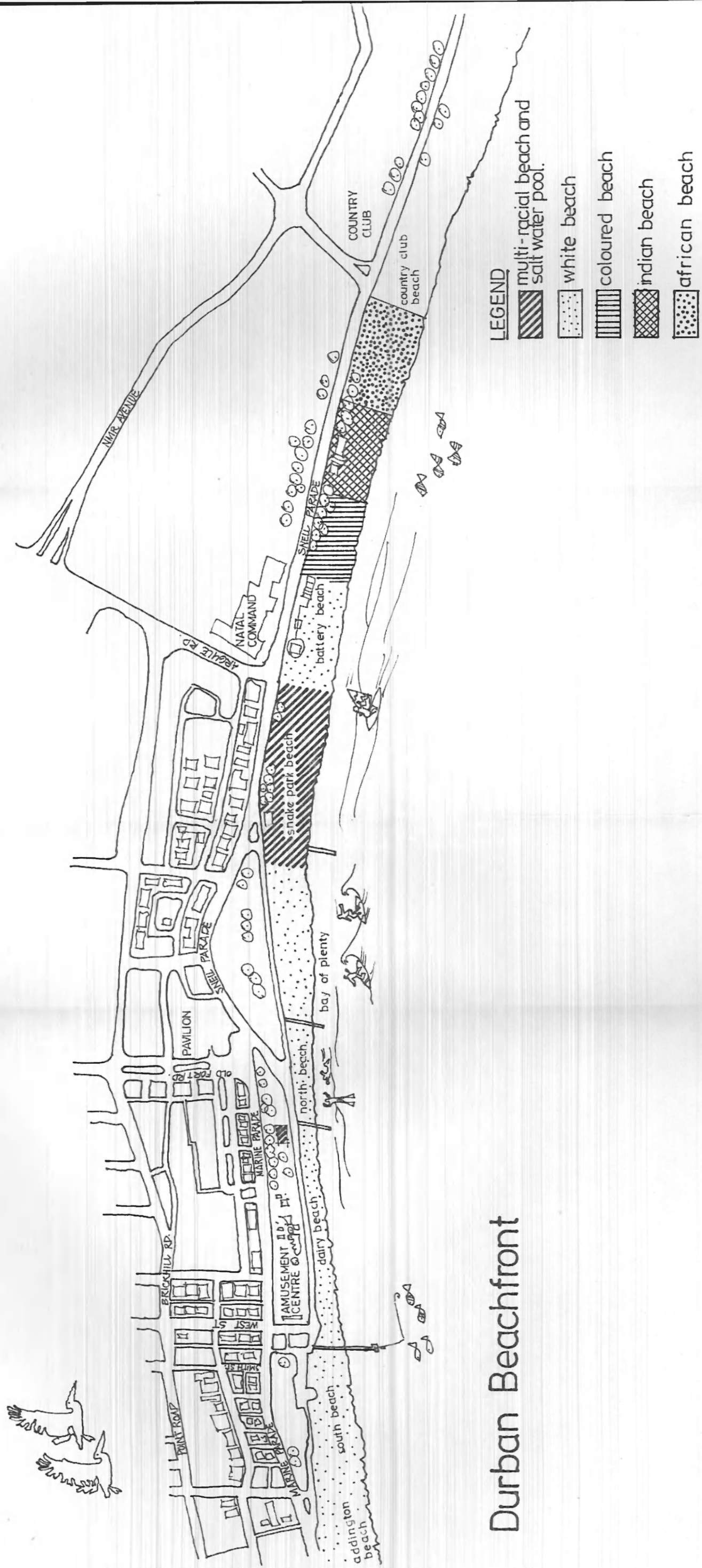
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## Durban Beachfront

## INTRODUCTION

As the for~~m~~most holiday resort in South Africa, Durban is constantly in the public eye. To maintain its popularity and prosperity it must be able to anticipate change and to develop strategies for its accommodation. This is no simple matter for a city which at present serves roughly three different sectors of the population in many different capacities. To the white residents it is the place where they live, work, own property, spend most of their leisure time and feel they belong ; to the white holidaymakers it is a place of recreation and entertainment where they spend a lot of money and from which they expect a good return ; to the black majority it is a place where they sell their labour in order to exist and one which provides them with restricted areas for the enjoyment of the sea.

That change is inevitable in the present era of social re-evaluation and reorganisation is axiomatic. The challenge is to implement change in as harmonious and beneficial a way as possible, taking into consideration the attitudes, cultural differences and expectations of all sections of the community. Policies must constantly be updated; amenities must be expanded and improved; new technologies must be put to use to maximise resources; and public opinion must consistently be sought to measure the response to innovations, new trends, real and imagined threats, and opposition. For the well-being<sup>of</sup> a population, and in this instance for that of Durban, surveys must be topical; this serves two main purposes i) to assess the degree of resistance to, or acceptance of, some aspect of change ii) to avoid creating antagonisms in the formulating of new dispensations and the passing of new laws.

The questions of the integration of Durban beaches has been under discussion since 1976, but the contentious nature of the issue dictated discretion and the matter was not publicised. However, when it was known that the City Council was about to throw the matter open the means of registering public feeling towards such a move became a necessity. However, before a general opinion survey could be made, it was announced on May 6th 1982 that the Snake Park beach and the Rachel Finlayson Baths would be open to all races. Later this was amended to Battery Beach 11 (the former African Beach)

The survey contained in this report aimed at recording the reactions, attitudes and opinions of residents and holidaymakers on one specific beach (Battery Beach 1) to the proposal to integrate another limited section of beach (Battery Beach 11) in the belief that this would be of future benefit to all present and potential users of Durban beaches and thus to Durban's role in accommodating change.



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CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL ISSUES IN THE DURBAN BEACH SURVEY - MAY 1982

1) The anticipated use of the Durban beachfront area and its amenities by members of all race groups brings into focus a number of sensitive social issues which must be handled with the greatest understanding. These issues bring in their train the practical ones of administration and the use of available resources, and also have a bearing on the future prosperity of the tourist industry, with far reaching effects on the economy of the city. Change does not take place without resistance in varying degrees and it is necessary to find out i) where most resistance will be encountered  
 ii) where least resistance will be encountered  
 iii) where to look for cooperation  
 iv) how to enable people to participate in change

2) Before any strategies can be formulated one must construct an impression of the people who use the beaches. Where do they come from; are they residents or holiday-makers; what age groups and sex groupings do they fall into; how often do they use the beaches; what attracts them; what do they find to criticise; how long do they stay if they are tourists. From such routine information a two dimensional image emerges, and with it practical indications of the different ways in which the Durban beach front area can be improved. This is also relevant to the day-to-day and ongoing maintenance of the area and is valuable in providing the authorities with information about the felt needs of the beach-users.

3) In probing the reactions of residents and tourists to the proposal to establish one integrated beach, the purpose of the survey was manifold as already mentioned in (1).

It was already well known through the daily press that the beach front residents of Ward 1 were implacably against any form of beach integration, but it was also known that they did not raise an outcry on behalf of the population as a whole. They felt that the protection of their property was at stake and this practical consideration spilled over into fears of personal safety and gross abuse of the environment.

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+ N.B. For purposes of this study the terms "Beach-users", "residents and tourists" and the general public are synonymous and refer solely to the group represented by the sample.

+ It is acknowledged that the influence of uncontrolled variable must constantly be borne in mind when dealing with the statistics in this particular study. For instance, the survey was conducted over a long weekend but not during the holiday season. Therefore there were a large number of residents on the beach, and many tourists were only staying for the weekend.

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But how did the people who actually made use of Battery Beach 1 react to the proposed innovation? This group (population) although involved, would be more objective in their assessments and should provide insight into public opinion.

4) The proximity of the multiracial Battery Beach 11 to the established white Battery Beach 1 would inevitably raise the issue of social distance, in all its ramifications. Would white beach-users mind being so close to other race-groups? would they sit on the beach with them? would they be prepared to swim with them? Do residents or tourists, male or females, one age group in particular, insist on the furthest social distance?

The social distance scale will be considered at greater length in the following chapter.

5) The next question to ask is 'why do people insist upon social distance?' This uncovers the emotions, racialism, prejudices and stereotypes that, in S.A. have been reinforced by the caste system emanating from apartheid. As well as imaginary fears it focuses attention on legitimate and practical fears, on cultural differences and hereditary attitudes; and on a conditioned preference. Social distance is, too, a result of lack of communication and information. Despite their cherished opinions, the majority of people are content to be very poorly informed about the society in which they live. Which groups of people express most rigidity and prejudice?

6) So far the emphasis has been on prejudiced objections, but the problem of overcrowding is an overriding one and is bound to influence the viewpoint of even the most liberal citizens. How would the overcrowded beach front in the summer holiday months cope with an invasion of black tourists and residents? This remains the most legitimate argument against integrating the whole Durban beach front area. We need to know how people feel about crowding and swamping; if they will go elsewhere, and where will they choose to go. Would the environment be seriously affected?

7) Accepting the inevitability of desegregation and assuming that the establishment of a multi-racial beach is virtually a fait accompli, how does this affect attitudes? Will people resign themselves to something they cannot combat, or will they take active steps to obstruct the process? Again the different groups must be assessed. Objections by tourists would affect the hotel industry; resistance from residents would become a matter of policy in the Durban City Council.

Working on the same assumptions it is important to know what suggestions the public has to offer in respect of strategies. Are people interested in the steps taken by the authorities; are they apathetic; what do they see as reasonable steps to take? Residents and tourists might be expected to take different views, thus stressing different aspects of the subject.

Both long and short term strategies could be expected to emerge and it is hoped that some will be of value to those concerned with planning and development. 8) Lastly we need to assess the degree to which the beach-users are prepared to cooperate and participate in plans for desegregation. Which sections of the sample population could be relied upon to give active support? Which groups would be most inclined to 'help make it work?'

This particular survey was not designed as an overall assessment of public opinion in the wider sense and so its limitations are self evident. The sample population makes no claim to being representative of all Durban residents and tourists. It does however produce findings that are consistent with previous surveys and it does provide a full range of attitudes towards integration of the beaches, from the most liberal to the most rigidly opposed.

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CHAPTER 11

ATTITUDES OF WHITE RESIDENTS AND HOLIDAYMAKERS TO THE  
PROPOSAL TO DECLARE BATTERY BEACH 11 A MULTIRACIAL BEACH

The proposal to declare the Snake Park Beach a desegregated beach and to open the Rachel Finlayson Baths on the Durban beachfront to all races had a very mixed reception. Meetings of angry ratepayers and impassioned meetings of the City Council were reported in the press and the weight of public opinion caused the City Council to designate Battery Beach 11 as the proposed multiracial beach, in place of Snake Park. The reason for this choice will be explained in due course.

Having conducted an opinion survey among a group of white ratepayers on the subject of beach integration in August 1981 and a survey of black opinion in February 1982, Prof. Schlemmer had already decided to go ahead with another survey, this time among white beach-users, both resident and visiting. The present survey took place between May 29th and June 6th on Battery Beach 11 and 180 people were interviewed.

Before the survey was carried out certain preparations were made :-

- i) An informal pilot study was carried out. Members of the public were engaged in conversation and were not aware that their views were being used for a particular purpose.
- ii) Cuttings and and cartoons from the Durban daily press relative to the beach issue were collected.
- iii) A number of integration studies which had taken place in the United States in the 1950s were collected and read. This was felt to be appropriate for although the circumstances differed greatly and the American studies chiefly covered housing and schooling, racial attitudes and prejudice make them relevant to the situation of change in South Africa.
- iv) A diploma student of CASS attended a meeting of ratepayers at the Durban City Hall and wrote a report. ( see appendix)

i) PILOT STUDY

- 7 Conversations took place on the beach.
- 2 Conversations took place away from the beach.
- 1 Letter from overseas is quoted.
- 1 Incident involving an Indian beach-worker is reported.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

- a) Against - 3
- b) For - unconditional - 4
- c) For - with reservations - 3



The conversations which took place on the beach yielded wide differences of opinion from the outright liberal ( a female beachuser in the 40+ age group) to the rigidly anti-integration ( an ex - Hollander Durban business man in the 60 + age group ). The kiosk proprietor engaged in conversation before and after the announcement that the Rachel Finlayson Baths and the Snake Park beach were to be integrated, was adamant that the local people would not stand for it and on both occasions spoke of the litter and filth that were a feature of the African beach. A female student agreed with integration in principle, but would exclude Coloureds; a group of English immigrants favoured integration and suggested that all races should be subjected to a stringent anti-litter campaign. Of those who were not regular beach-users and who were spoken to away from the beach the first, a Male Technikon student was in favour of integration and a young English speaking ex JHB couple were rigidly against it, being firm believers in the advantages of apartheid. The overseas correspondent was cautiously in favour and

+ .) said that integrated beaches would not deter her from returning to Durban.

ii) BLACK ATTITUDES TOWARDS MULTIRACIAL BEACHES

The attitudes revealed by whites in the pilot study gave an indication of the degree of resistance to be expected from this race group, where even of those in favour of integration had reservations. By contrast, in a survey

+ (i) conducted by CASS among black residents and holiday-makers, 62% of those interviewed from a sample of 78, were in favour of integration; 19% were apprehensive or reserved; 19 % were against all beaches being open to all race groups; however, of this 19% the greater majority favoured the creation of one large open beach, chiefly on the grounds that full integration on all beaches was premature while so many other forms of apartheid existed. The marked difference between white and black attitudes is in no way surprising; the whites are either unwilling to forgoe their privileges or they feel apprehensive about being swamped; the blacks have everything to gain and they wish to share in the amenities enjoyed by the other race group.

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+ i) This material to be reported in appendix.

+ ii) "Black attitudes towards multiracial beaches in Durban.  
A preliminary investigation among residents and holiday-makers."

Valerie Moller, Thamba Nzimande and Lawrence Schlemmer  
February 1982  
CASS  
University of Natal  
DURBAN

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TABLE 6 (P.23) ( of Black Attitudes etc)

This table is self explanatory and shows that only 3 respondents were firmly against integration.

TABLE 6 (From Black Attitudes towards Multiracial Beaches in Durban)

<u>Main reasons given for preferred solution :</u>	
<u>Preference for all beaches open : N = 45</u>	
	%
Blacks stand to gain	38
Would improve race relations	29
Only natural for people to mix	7
Represents move in right direction	18
Separation of beaches unnatural and costly	7
+ Blacks can learn from whites	2
<u>Preference for retaining separate beaches and opening one large beach N = 23</u>	
	%
Mixing should be voluntary	30
Danger of race tension	30
Integration of beaches premature	17
Danger of blacks being exploited by other races	9
Mixing unacceptable on moral grounds	4
Only natural for people to mix	4
Would improve race relations	4
<u>Preference for separate beaches N = 4</u>	
	%
Integration of beaches is premature	25
Mixing on beaches unacceptable on moral grounds	25
Mixing on beaches unnecessary	25
Danger of blacks being exploited by other races	25

There appears to be a significant lack of overt racialism in connection with whites : 'exploitation by other race-groups' referring to other non white beach-users.

- + The size of the sample was small, but in defending this the researchers explained; "the sampling method used in the survey could not yield a sample which was representative of the beachgoing population among blacks. Nevertheless the inclusion of sufficiently high numbers of persons in various social categories made feasible a preliminary analysis of opinions within specific sectors of the black population."

As the black people of S.A. become more aware of their rights as citizens, and as a result of rising expectations, it is inevitable that they should envisage the falling away of social frontiers. Realistic and forward-looking whites accept this inevitability. Both groups view the practical steps - how change will affect them personally in their daily lives - from a different viewpoint; one expects to gain, the other to yield. But those who gain must also give, and this the blacks appear to accept; those who yield must also gain, a fact that whites are as yet not too sure about.

iii) PRESS CUTTINGS FROM THE DURBAN NEWSPAPERS

As far back as December 1976 the Durban daily press reported a suggestion by Councillor Ron Williams of the establishment of a multiracial beach in the Snake Park Area of the beachfront. The proposal met with a hot reception and the suggestion was vigorously opposed by Council Cornelius Koekemoer, while the Mayor of Durban, Dr George Hollis refused to support the movement. However, by April 14th 1977 the open beach plan was gaining support, it being proposed that white beaches should be thrown open to coloureds. Councillor Williams was by then advocating one fully integrated beach. Those matters were reported as being referred back for further consideration by the Management Committee. On 6.5.82 there was an announcement by Mr Neil MacLennan that it was proposed by the Durban City Council to desegregate the Snake Park Beach and to open the Rachel Finlayson Baths to all races. The original proposal was to partition off the stretch of beach between the two storm water drains and to charge an entrance fee. The reaction was immediate and vociferous and the headlines of the Natal Mercury the following day gave an accurate summing up of this; "Battle launched against Multiracial Beach". Starting with this front page article and the editorial in the same issue, all press - cuttings relating to the subject were collected. Objections came most forcefully from the beachfront residents of Ward 1, with their councillors, Mr Bradfield and Mr Klotz acting as their champions and militant spokesmen. Claiming not to be racists, they fulminated against overcrowding, noise, dirt, litter, public disturbance, crime and traffic problems. Other less militant objectors were the board-sailors, who had only recently been granted an area where they could legitimately practise the sport, i.e. the Snake Park Beach. The newspaper items reflected every facet in the controversy of the beaches. One article stated that Prof. L. Schlemmer's earlier beach survey had shown that 85% of whites in Durban were against integration. This was denied in print by the Professor, who pointed out that 50% of people were in favour, although some had certain fears and would be happier with a phased approach.

While the Mayor and the City Council stood firm on their decision and editorials in the daily press supported the move, letters to the editor over a period of 3 months voiced the concern of the general public. There were 16 letters from whites expressing every degree of antagonism and opposition, and 10 letters from whites and 2 from Indians in favour of the proposition.

Meanwhile the siting of the multiracial beach had been changed from Snake Park beach to Battery Beach 11 - the old African beach where changerooms already exist. This decision was reported on the 25th May after an on-site inspection of the whole beach area. The plan to erect barriers and to charge for entrance was dropped. This new proposal made little difference to the anti-integration faction. Opposition was organized and mobilised to lodge formal objections and by 10th August 1982 eight of these were lodged with the Durban City Council, representing some 3,500 people. It was also reported that a petition containing 8,000 names had been handed to the Province. In light of this development, the Durban Amenities Committee deferred its decision to declare Battery Beach 11 an integrated beach and to open the Rachel Finlayson Baths to all races.

On August 31st on the eve of the Durban Municipal election - the Natal Mercury bore the front page headline "ALL RACE BEACH GETS GO-AHEAD BY 7 VOTES". This decision was reached after an acrimonious debate, but the opening of the Rachel Finlayson Baths was deferred for further discussion with the Natal Amateur Swimming Association which is looking for an upgrading to Olympic Standards.

From the debates and opinions expressed, it appears that much of the opposition stemmed from the fact that it was believed that the Durban City Council wished to open all beaches to all races. Of the two Daily papers, the Daily News reported more favourably on the beach issue whilst the Natal Mercury adopted a more critical tone.

iv) AMERICAN INTEGRATION STUDIES IN THE 1950s

In order to gain a perspective on the likely pattern of de-segregation a number of articles that appeared in American sociology publications during the 1950s were consulted. At this time studies were being made in different parts of the U.S.A. in connection with Negro integration. The studies that were felt to be particularly pertinent were those dealing with prejudice, the concept of social distance, and discrimination. Less relevant for our present purpose, but nevertheless of significance for future development in S. Africa were A) housing studies dealing with i) blacks moving into previously white areas ii) the establishment of integrated housing schemes: B) demographic studies; C) studies of integration in schools. Although the American negroes are a minority group it is evident that whites felt threatened by their encroachment. Bearing this in mind and thinking of the reaction of white S. Africans when asked to share a small portion of beach with blacks, the following quotation from the Association of American Geographers (1969) is most appropriate "there appears to exist a universal pattern of refusal to share social space once the black population reaches some critical level."

1. Elsewhere this ratio had been fixed at  $\frac{1}{4}$  blacks to  $\frac{2}{3}$  whites. Also in this context Thomas F Pettigrew noted that : " Furthermore, the proportion
2. of Negroes living in a community appears to be an additional factor in southern attitudes to integration. ...respondents residing in high density towns (38% and 45% Negroes) tended to be more strongly in favour of racial segregation and less optimistic about the eventual acceptance of desegregation in the South than respondents living in the low density towns (10% to 17% Negroes)"

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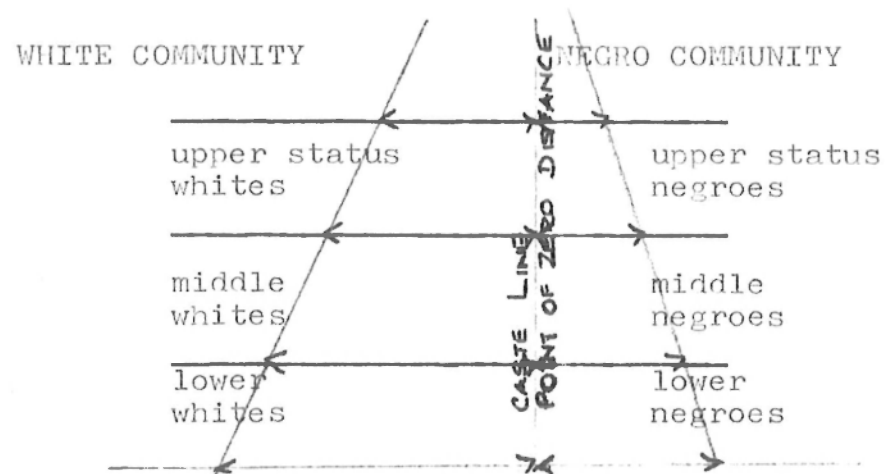
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-

### THE SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

From the short discussion on 'Black Attitudes Towards Multi-racial Beaches in Durban', it has been suggested that blacks have less aversion to mixing with whites than whites have to sharing space with blacks. This tendency is borne out by<sup>9</sup> study conducted by Frank R. Westie & Margaret L. Westie, 'The Social Distance Pyramid; Relationships Between Caste & Class'.

Although cautious in their interpretation of the result of their studies because of the enormous number of intervening variables the authors concluded that the social distance blacks preferred in relation to whites at all levels of the social scale was proportionately lower than the distance preferred by whites. The diagram drawn to represent this formed an assymetrical pyramid, with the "caste line", or point of zero distance running perpendiculaly from apex to base. At the summit of the pyramid were the upper status whites and negroes; widely separated at the base were the lower status whites and negroes.



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- + 1. The American Journal of Sociology 1957-58  
Vol. 63  
The Social Distance Pyramid : Relationships  
Between Caste and Class. Frank R Westie &  
Margaret L. Westie.
- + 2. Social Distance Scale.  
Attitude Scaling Method, developed by  
E.S. Bogardus in 1925.



Residential, physical, position and interpersonal distance scales combined to form an average. It was noted that at any given level in the pyramid when equivalent classes were asked to rate the preferred distance from the other, the whites preferred a greater distance between themselves and the Negroes than the Negroes preferred between themselves and the whites. In South Africa the concept of social distance has been institutionalized by the doctrine of apartheid and reinforced by cultural norms. Education, which appears to offer proof of being a means of overcoming prejudice and exploding myths, is not equally available to blacks and to whites. Yet in spite of these considerations, the social distance pyramid would be likely to reflect a similar outline to the one evolved in America.

The American researchers admit the impossibility of positing clear-cut hypotheses concerning class and prejudice. It may be tentatively suggested that i) the white, Christian, European culture system is an exceedingly powerful reinforcer of prejudices and stereotypes; and that ii) the actual fact of skin colour and physical features present a deviation from the norm in the white consciousness.

#### THE DIMENSIONS OF PREJUDICE

"The world of prejudice, it would appear, is a world of false fears leading to real sorrows "

Robert M MacIver.

A study of race relations, especially in the context of social change, must necessarily include prejudice and the means of handling this obstacle to progress. In their paper ' The Influence of Information on 3 Dimensions of Prejudice Towards 1. Negroes ' Louise E Merz and Leonard I. Pearlin selected 3 components of this blanket term - cognition, emotion and motivation. They then proceeded to study the effect that information had on these dimensions in relation to, and without, ego-involvement.

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Louise E. Merz and Leonard I. Pearlin.  
Social Forces. May 1956 Vo. 34 Number 4.
- + 2. Intergroup Relations v. Prejudice. Pertinent Theory for the study of Social Change Arnold M. Rose. Hoid. (see P.13.)

For our purpose their most significant conclusion was that effective strategies aimed at attitude change should not only provide information about the matter in question (i.e. the desirability, inevitability and advantages of desegregating the beaches) but also to provide some means of engendering ego-involvement (e.g. a personal stake in assisting to make this work.) The researchers also found that "relatively little information with a relatively high degree of involvement seems most conclusive to bringing about a disposition to action." (P.351 *ibid*) Another researcher, Arnold M Rose, took as the starting point the fact that there were instances where prejudice and discrimination varied independently. In this connection he quoted opinion polls ... "showing overwhelming proportions of various local populations against desegregation, in many of the communities sampled, desegregation has proceeded apace without incident. Prejudice, he goes on to say, is an expression of the authoritarian personality, and moreover will be expressed as hatred towards groups, systems, policies, and so on, whether or not there is an ethnic group on which to focus attention. By no small coincidence people scoring high in prejudice also scored high in misanthropy. Noting that theories of prejudice are linked with individual psychological mechanisms, Rose goes on to offer the opinion that race prejudice of itself is a negligible factor in the patterns of intergroup relations. In his view prejudice will remain, with different objects, long after the conflict of Negro - White relations is a thing of the past. He says that the problems of desegregation should 'be looked for in terms of legal, economic, political and social structures.' He also mentions a comment of Loeb's to the effect that people appear to be almost grateful when the law takes prejudice out of their hands. No discussion of prejudice would be complete without reference to stereotyping. In S.A. this is greatly enhanced by the caste system which prevents the acquisition of first hand knowledge about other race groups.

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REFERENCE

+ Adelson & Sullivan, California prejudice scale.

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It has been stated that " in the U.S. non-whiteness has been associated with low-classness". This accords with the structure of the caste system in S.A. The blacks are stereotyped as an inferior caste, the untouchables, therefore it is not surprising that whites should insist upon the furthest possible social distance and recoil from the prospect of 'sharing'.

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May 1956 Vol. 34 No. 4.
  - +2. The Invasion Succession as a **Self-Fulfilling** Prophecy  
- Eleanor P. Wolf. Journal of Social Issues Vol X111  
1957 No. 4 ( Wolf quotes Sellitz, Claire and Cook,  
Stuart W. Chapter 10, P19, as saying that, " ... in  
the U.S. non-whiteness has been associated with low-  
classness."
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THE AMERICAN STUDIES - GENERAL

In making a study of the work done by American social scientists the following sequences are illustrated :-

- 1) Proposals for desegregation by responsible authorities  
e.g. Town-planners, educationists; developers.
- 2) Initial reaction by whites based on prejudice and un-articulated fears.
- 3) Resistance to change and innovation, accompanied by action.
- 4) Elimination of certain fears through contact.
- 5) Withdrawal of those for whom desegregation is unacceptable  
e.g. migration of whites from localities where blacks have bought property.
- 6) Acceptance of the new dispensation in varying degrees and in aspects of social life, with notable exceptions.

In a survey of this nature it is not necessary to sift through and report upon all the different studies. A general overview suggests that discrimination is slow to lose its social and cultural sanctions and that the process of desegregation varies considerably, depending upon ... region, degree of involvement, authoritarianism, initial attitudes towards Negroes and the density of Negroes living in a community. The attitudes of white Durban residents and tourists towards overcrowding are reflected in the movement of American Whites away from areas where Negro encroachment has raised the ratio of blacks to whites above a certain level and in the removal of white pupils from schools where the percentage of black pupils is increasing. (A Study of Some Factors Affecting the Decision of Negro High School Students to Enrol in Previously All-white High Schools, St. Louis 1955 Harry J. Crockett Jr.) Writing about "Consensus in the Changing South" L.M. Killian makes a number of observations which are so topical for S.A. in the 1980s that they could have been taken from our own daily press: "Yet one of the most important lessons we can learn from history is that the presence of conflict, trouble, or controversy is no sign that progress is not being made."

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  - +2. The Invasion Succession etc. Eleanor P. Wolf.
  - +3. A Study of Some Factors Affecting the Decision of Negro High School Students to Enrol in Previously All-White High Schools. St. Louis 1955. Harry J. Crockett Jr.
  - +4. Consensus in the Changing South - Lewis M Killian. The Phylon Quarterly (Second Quarter, 1957 Vo. XV111 No.2.)
-

" The greatest problem that confronts such a society as ours - vast, heterogeneous, and unorganized - is that of achieving consensus."

" One of the most pervasive stereotypes of the public is that it consists of persons who are well informed as to the nature of the issues and as to the whole range of facts relevant to these issues."

This last point will be well illustrated in the section of this report which deals with attitudes of Durban beach-users.

There is one more apt quotation, taken from 'Open City' -

"Those who caution to "go slow" meant "stay put". Those who say more education is needed before equality to minorities (i.e. Negroes) can begin to be offered , mean "stay put". Those who say we are not yet ready mean "stay put".

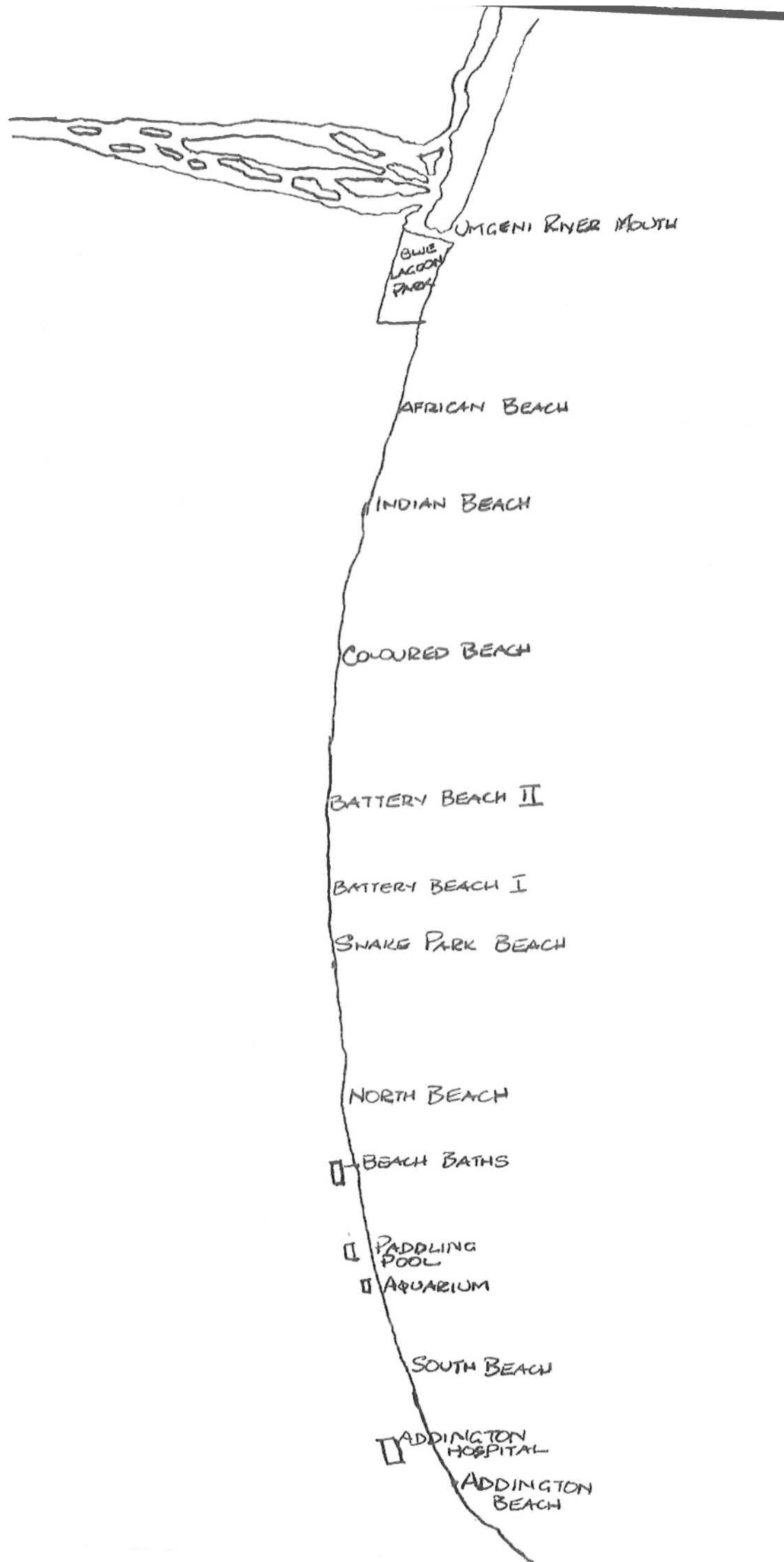
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- The Open City - Threshold to American Maturity. Frank s. Horne.
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CHAPTER 111





### THE SURVEY

Diagram of Durban beach-front area showing all beaches ; in particular R. Finlayson Baths.

Snake Park Beach (1st proposal)

Battery Beach 1

Battery Beach 11 (Final decision)

Battery Beach 1 was chosen by Professor L. Schlemmer for the purpose of this particular survey because it lies adjacent to the proposed multi-racial beach, Battery Beach 11. He considered that the users of this beach would be more directly affected by the proximity of other race groups. However, the survey had purposes besides that of assessing attitudes of beach-users to a desegregated beach : it sought :-

- i) to establish visiting patterns to Durban beaches and other beaches in Natal.
- ii) to reveal practical criticisms of the Durban beach-front area.
- iii) to find out what attracts residents and tourists to Battery Beach 1.

The statistics and information obtained would be made available to the Durban City Council, The Durban Beach Architect, and the Durban Publicity Bureau. A questionnaire was drawn up at a conference of the executive staff of CASS and the survey was scheduled for the long weekend in May. (May 29th - 31st) and the first weekend in June (June 5th - 6th). A few isolated interviews took place up to June 11th. A sample of 180 was achieved over this period. There were 20 interviewers; viz. 8 post-graduate diploma students from CASS and 12 female Technikon students. Interviewers worked in pairs for approximately 2 hour stints, starting at 10am and finishing by 3 pm.

#### i) METHOD OF ADMINISTERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewers circulated among the people on the beach, choosing respondents at random. No rigid quota was stipulated and it was left to the discretion of the interviewer to select as representative a sample as possible. When a respondent had agreed to be interviewed, one field-worker administered the questionnaire while the other made a mental note of the responses. This was essential in the second part of the interview, when the respondent was given the impression that the formal part of the session was completed. The first section dealt with the gathering of statistical information.

The second was designed to elicit spontaneous opinions.

REPORT AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

ii) SECTION 1 OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

THE SAMPLE

The method of selecting the sample of 180 beach-users has been described in the previous section. The interviews took place on Battery Beach 1 and as may be seen from Table (1), 58.8% occurred during the long week-end, May 29th - 31st when the percentage of tourists was greatest.

TABLE (1) DATES OF INTERVIEWS ON BATTERY BEACH 1

	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Weekend May 29-31	106	58.8
Weekend June 4-6	63	35.0
weekend June 11-13	10	5.6
No information	<u>1</u>	<u>.6</u>
	<u>180</u>	<u>100.0</u>

TABLE (2) SEX OF RESPONDENTS

	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Male	99	55
Female	<u>81</u>	<u>45</u>
	<u>180</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE (3) AGE GROUPS

	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Unspecified	1	.6
- 19 years	12	6.7
20 - 29 years	73	40.6
30 - 39 years	33	18.3
40 - 49 years	28	15.6
50 +	<u>33</u>	<u>18.3</u>
	<u>180</u>	<u>100</u>

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FOOTNOTE : See Appendix for the questionnaire

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The ratio of males to females - 55% / 45% was well balanced and a reflection of the distribution on the beach. This balance is maintained in the age grouping, where approximately 48% of the sample fell into the under 30 age group. (Persons under the age of 18 i.e. school pupils, were not included in the sample) and 52% into the mature and middle aged groups. The number of beach users of riper years is in marked contrast to the age pattern for blacks. (Ref. Report on Black Attitudes) where the middle aged respondents felt themselves to be somewhat out of place in a recreation area more suitable for the young. Table (4) gives the proportion of Durban residents to tourists; a more detailed table will be found in the appendix.

TABLE (4)	<u>DURBAN RESIDENTS</u>	-	<u>NON RESIDENTS</u>
	FREQUENCY		PERCENTAGE
Residents	115		63.9
Non-residents	<u>65</u>		<u>36.1</u>
	<u>180</u>		<u>100.0</u>

Had the sample been taken at the height of the holiday season it is almost certain that the percentage of residents would have dropped sharply, while that of tourists would have risen drastically. 42.3% tourists were accounted for over the long weekend, i.e. those staying for 5 days or less. See Table (5).

TABLE (5)	<u>TOURISTS - LENGTH OF STAY IN DURBAN</u>	
	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Up to 5 days	27	42.3
7 - 14 days	22	34.5
21 - 28 days	6	9.4
More than 28 days		
& up to 1 year	<u>9</u>	<u>14.2</u>
	<u>64</u>	<u>100</u>

It is of significance to the hotel industry that even during the off season when tariffs are lower, nearly 77% of tourists stay for less than 14 days, the majority coming to Durban for a weekend or extended weekend.

Having established the composition of the sample and the proportion of residents to tourists, the first line of investigation was to discover why beach-users were attracted to Battery Beach 1. Each respondent was allowed, or limited to, two responses.

The results are tabled below.

TABLE (6) WHAT ATTRACTS YOU TO THIS BEACH ?

( 2 responses)	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>CASE %</u>
1) Less crowded	67	37.2
2) Proximity of location	62	34.4
3) Quality of environment	47	26.1
4) Cleanliness	37	20.6
5) Amenities	31	17.2
6) Swimming/surf/water	23	12.8
7) Parking	13	7.2
8) Social reasons	13	7.2
9) Other	12	6.7
10) Nothing special	<u>6</u>	<u>3.3</u>
	<u>311</u>	<u>172.8</u>

In view of opinions and attitudes expressed in the unstructured section of the interview, and to be discussed later, it is significant to draw attention to the fact that "Less crowded" heads the list of attractions, this category also implied "Less noisy". Placed second on the list is "Proximity of location", a response that also has a bearing on the second part of the interview. Beach users staying at a nearby hotel and residents living in the area or on the Banea found Battery Beach 1 the most accessible and convenient. This being so they would be likely to continue using it as long as it remained relatively uncrowded.

The quality of the environment - i.e. the provision of lawns, greenery and a paved promenade area - the cleanliness of the beach and the amenities - i.e. change rooms, kiosk, toilets and showers, were all high on the list of attractions and suggest that beach-users make an assessment of the total environment in which to enjoy their leisure and that what is provided for them by the Durban City Council takes precedence over the natural attraction of the sea. However, it could have been an assumption in the majority of cases that bathing was an integral part of "going to the beach", and did not merit comment. Parking did not rate highly, indicating perhaps that this was a) adequate and b) not a problem, rather than an attraction.

People who come out of habit, those who come to meet friends and those associated with Surf Life Saving Clubs accounted for "social reasons, while "other" included such items as 'girl-watching', 'life-guards' and 'openness of beach'.

Having explained why they were attracted to Battery Beach 1, respondents were then questioned about their visiting patterns to this particular beach, to other Durban beaches and to Natal beaches in general. The first question asked was, "How often do you come to this beach in the summer?" and it applied to residents and tourists.

TABLE (7) VISITING PATTERN - RESIDENTS AND TOURISTS

	<u>BATTERY BEACH 1</u>	
	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Never	3	1.7
Daily	77	42.8
Once a week	54	30.0
Once a fortnight	18	10.0
Once a month	12	6.7
Once every 2-3 months	8	4.4
Once a year	5	2.8
Less than once a year	3	1.7
	<u>180</u>	<u>100.0</u>

These statistics indicate that a substantial percentage of the residents make regular use of this beach (ratio of residents to tourists 115/65) and that visitors are likely to return, even if once a year or less. It was also established that 47.8% of the Battery Beach 1 users never visited other Durban beaches, implying a stable quality in the "Attraction" factors.

TABLE (8) VISITING PATTERN - OTHER DURBAN BEACHES

	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGES</u>
In Durban for an isolated visit	10	5.6
Never visit other Dbn beaches	86	47.8
Visit beaches North of aquarium	36	20.0
Visit beaches South of aquarium	24	13.3
Unspecified	8	4.4
Visit all beaches North and South of aquarium	<u>16</u>	<u>8.9</u>
	<u>180</u>	<u>100.0</u>



Visiting patterns to other Natal beaches specifying location and frequency of visits, indicate that there is considerable movement up and down the Natal coast on a regular basis. However, 28.3% of the sample go only to Battery Beach 1. (i.e. do not leave Durban )

TABLE 9 (where)	VISITING PATTERN OTHER NATAL BEACHES	
	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Never in Natal	13	7.2
Never visit other Natal beaches	51	28.3
Visit N. coast beaches	52	28.9
Visit S. coast beaches	29	16.1
Unspecified	14	7.8
Beaches N & S of Durban	21	11.7
	<u>180</u>	<u>100.0</u>

TABLE 10 (how often )	VISITING PATTERNS OTHER NATAL BEACHES	
	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Never visit	21	11.7
Daily	22	12.2
Once a week	40	22.2
Once a fortnight	23	12.8
Once a month	24	13.3
Once every 2-3 months	14	7.8
Once a year	19	10.6
Less than once a year	17	9.4
	<u>180</u>	<u>100.00</u>

The statistics in tables 9 and 10 indicate that the north coast beaches are more frequently visited than those on the south coast and that Durban residents visit them more often than tourists - (ratio 26.4% of residents, 12.5% of tourists.)

Once the visiting patterns had been recorded respondents were asked what they disliked most about the whole Durban beach-front area; they were allowed and limited to three responses.

TABLE 11

DURBAN BEACHFRONT AREA - DISLIKES

	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE CASES</u>
Crowding	70	38.9
Litter	57	31.7
Quality of sand -oil pollution	46	25.6
Commercialism	28	15.6
Holidaymakers	21	11.7
Parking	20	11.1
Nothing	19	10.6
Inadequate facilities	15	8.3
Noise	14	7.8
Quality of sea -oil pollution	12	6.7
Prices of refreshments	9	5.0
Crime	5	2.8
Presence of blacks	4	2.2
Segregation	3	1.7
Rules and regulations	1	.6
Other	<u>24</u>	<u>13.3</u>
	<u>348</u>	<u>193.3</u>

The findings displayed in this table are of particular interest to the Durban City Council and a letter was presented to the Beach Architect, enclosing the table. (See Appendix) Thus compacted, the problems of the main beachfront area confirmed the Beach Architect's own views and provided useful information for future planning.

Two things stand out in this list of dislikes or complaints - the matters of overcrowding and of litter and pollution. A number of respondents were emphatic that the beach-front area was 'crowded and filthy' and they voiced their disgust of the 'black sand'. It was pointed out by the official that the heavy black titanium deposit was exposed by the erosion of the beaches and that the sand-pumping scheme would effectively alleviate this problem. Other schemes, such as the building of a new restaurant and the provision of extra parking space are already under way. Concern for the environment fell under the 'Other' heading, the lack of trees and lawns being most frequently mentioned.

The question which provided the data for Tables 1 - 11 concluded the structured section of the questionnaire and thereafter respondents were engaged in conversation in an attempt to ascertain their views on the proposed desegregation of Battery Beach 2.

SECTION 11 OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

It was felt that respondents would be more likely to give frank, spontaneous answers if their opinions were not being recorded as they spoke, and if the questions asked were open-ended. The first question was worded as follows : ( see Q.8. of questionnaire in Appendix)

"It seems from the papers that they are going to change these beaches - bring in an integrated beach for blacks and everyone there (pointing to Battery Beach 11). How do you think people using the beach will feel ?"

It is interesting to note that a typical initial reaction was either one of mild surprise or lack of interest. Although the proposal had been reported extensively in the press and on television it was evidently not a burning issue among the sample encountered on the beach. A number of respondents of both sexes and all age groups said they 'didn't think people would mind' - and it required probing to elicit any further opinions. It must be remembered that beach-users were approached in a friendly manner while they were relaxing and enjoying their leisure, most likely with all serious matters put out of mind temporarily. Such a pleasant state of well-being eases away habitual tensions that could, in other circumstances, give rise to more definite, or militant reactions. As conversations were pursued, most respondents became more articulate and the matter of crowding was the factor most often mentioned (47.2% of the total sample.) Some concern was felt about the possible overspill from Battery Beach 11 to Battery Beach 1 but this did not appear to be envisaged as a major problem. Litter, pollution of the beach, bad behaviour and noise, together formed the next largest category. It will be recalled that these features ( with the exception of 'bad behaviour') were recorded among the thing most disliked in the Durban beach front area. 14.4% of the sample predicted theft on the beach, and 13.9% assaults. Political comments came from 13.9%. A full table of the negative factors mentioned by respondents in answer to question 8 is presented below.

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FOOTNOTE : 'Political' comments and 'Other' comments will be found in Appendix.

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TABLE (12) NEGATIVE FACTORS MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS  
MATTERS RAISED BY RESPONDENTS RELATING TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
INTEGRATION OF BATTERY BEACH 11

<u>CATEGORY LABELS</u>		<u>MENTIONED</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>	<u>NOT MENTIONED</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
1. Assaults	(7)	25	13.9	155	86.1
2. Thefts	(6)	26	14.4	154	85.6
3. Indecency	(10)	21	11.7	159	88.3
4. Crowding	(1)	85	47.2	95	52.8
5. Swamping	(11)	16	8.9	164	91.1
6. Pollution - Water	(13)	15	8.3	165	91.7
7. Pollution - Beach	(3)	47	26.1	133	73.9
8. Sensitivity, change rooms	(14)	14	7.8	166	92.2
9. Indecent black dress	(17)	11	6.1	169	93.9
10. Noise on beach	(5)	27	15.0	153	85.0
11. Drinking on beach	(15)	14	7.8	166	92.2
12. Bad behaviour on beach	(4)	41	22.8	139	77.2
13. Squatting and sleeping on beach	(12)	15.3	8.3	165	91.7
14. Coloureds & Indians, not blacks	(18)	-	-	180	100.0
15. Political (specify)	(8)	25	13.9	155	86.1
16. Parking	(9)	21	11.7	159	88.3
17. Lack of Facili- ties	(16)	13	7.2	167	92.8
18. Other (specify)	(2)	48	26.7	132	73.3

NEGATIVE FACTORS MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS

While a number of points were raised by members of the sample, it is immediately obvious that the majority of respondents did not mention any negative factors other than crowding. Objections therefore, were voiced by a minority, a fact which could be interpreted by a number of different variables. As will be discussed at a later stage, it was found that most beach-users were ill-informed, disinterested in what the Durban City Council might be planning and showed a 'laissez-faire' attitude to the concept of change. It should also be mentioned that a number of the tourists interviewed were staying at a 4 star international hotel, and that the majority of the residents came from the more affluent suburbs of Durban. This would mean that the population from which the sample was taken would be in a fairly high socio-economic group, and might be expected to have a more tolerant attitude towards the process of change, and also place less stress on social distance. (Ref. Social Distance Scale) The minority, who were more politically aware and better informed had definite views to express. It was in this minority group that one encountered the most prejudiced and the most liberal views; those rigidly against integration and those in favour of immediate, full integration, those who insisted on social distance and those who wanted social mixing on all levels. The spontaneous comments listed under "Political", included such typical remarks as :

- 1) 'On principle I am opposed to integration, the races must be separate.'
- 2) 'It (integration on the beach) would cause friction between the races.'
- 3) 'I don't like the idea of integration but realize it must come.'
- 4) 'I am a liberal. It is a fundamental right that all beaches should be integrated.'
- 5) 'It would be bad publicity for S.A. if change is only partial.'

In the 'other' category, the following are representative :

- 1) "Everything (i.e. facilities, environment) will be ruined : blacks do not understand conservation or keeping the place clean.
- 2) "Lower class white drunks will beat up blacks: there will be trouble between these groups .... it is degrading for black men to look at white girls .... there will be incidents."
- 3) "I am opposed to integration, but one beach is acceptable ... I would not swim with black people .... I would feel too self-conscious to mix with blacks."
- 4) "Most people, blacks and whites and Indians, prefer to stay with their own groups."
- 5) "Segregation is bad for tourism; I am fully in favour of integration."
- 6) "As long as the facilities are kept clean and there is adequate policing of the beach it should be O.K."

It will be observed that practical considerations, such as parking and lack of adequate facilities did not receive much attention, indicating perhaps, a passive and uninvolved attitude, consistent with assumptions about essential services.

#### QUESTION 9 OF QUESTIONNAIRE

"Would you use that beach or not ? (Referring to integrated Battery Beach 11). Faced with the opportunity to give a clear-cut answer, respondents had no hesitation about replying to the question and provided confirmation of Prof. Schlemmer's earlier report that 50% of the Durban population were in favour of integration. In the present survey - 33.3% of the sample indicated that they would use the beach for bathing, 17.8% would do so conditionally and 5% with limitations - 56.1% in all. This slightly higher percentage could be accounted for by the fact that tourists were also involved in this later study.

TABLE (13) ASSESSMENT OF USAGE OF INTEGRATED BEACH

	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
No information	1	.6
Yes, would use it for bathing	60	33.3
No, racial reasons	58	32.2
Yes, conditional	32	17.8
No, practical	10	5.6
Yes, limited use	9	5.0
Perhaps	8	4.4
Neutral	2	1.1

Taking into consideration the fact that "No, practical" referred in most instances to a refusal to change established habit - patterns that "Perhaps" was not antagonistic to the idea of integration, the statistic could in fact be well over 60%.

"Would you use that beach or not?"

Reported answers :-

"No : whoever wants to should do so. It would get crowded and dirty and noisy."

"I shall use the beach; blacks don't worry me."

"Yes, I can't think of any reason why not."

"Yes, I wouldn't have any objections to using it but I wouldn't go there simply because it is integrated. I would still come here." (i.e. to Battery Beach 1)

"I would go first to see what it is like out of curiosity and if the situation was pleasant I'd continue going. If there was trouble, which people anticipate from change, then I would not return."

"Yes, only females will be affected especially by Indian men staring, chatting up etc."

"No, I only walk through; I do not swim or use the beach."

"I have no friend in other race groups, so I would not use the beach. I feel that change must come. I would not object to one beach but might object if the whole beachfront became integrated."

"Not at all - I should feel too self-conscious in front of other races."

"Yes, provided it was not too crowded."

"No, I would rather travel out of Durban to find a non-integrated beach."

"Yes, I wouldn't mind using the beach at all, but it might get too crowded."

TABLE 13 ( cross tabs)

The statistics showed that a difference of attitude towards use of an integrated beach existed between residents and non - residents, as shown in the supplementary table.

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>NON-RESIDENTS</u>	<u>%</u>
No information	0		1	.6
Yes, bathing	39	33.9	21	32.8
No, racial	44	38.3	14	21.9
Yes, conditional	15	13.0	17	26.6
No, practical	5	4.3	5	7.8
Yes, limited	5	4.3	4	6.3
Perhaps	6	5.2	2	3.1
Neutral	<u>1</u>	<u>.9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.6</u>
	<u>115</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Objections on racial grounds were more prevalent among residents, while a greater percentage of non-residents would use the beach provided certain conditions were fulfilled.

A discrepancy was also shown to exist between males and females :

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>%</u>
N.I.	1	.9	1	1.2
Yes, bathing	38	38.8	22	27.4
No , racial	27	27.6	30	37.5
Yes, conditional	17	17.3	15	18.8
No, practical	6	6.1	4	5.0
Yes, limited	4	4.1	5	6.3
Perhaps	4	4.1	4	5.0
Neutral	<u>2</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	<u>99</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Males showed a greater willingness to use the integrated beach, while the percentage of females who objected for racial reasons was 10% higher than for males. This could signify a cultural reluctance on the part of females to expose themselves to males of other race-groups, a factor which contributes to social distance.

Cross reference confirmed that respondents in the age groups under 40 were more likely to use the integrated beach than those over 40; racial prejudice was evenly distributed between these two groups.



Having obtained an assessment of the possible usage of an integrated beach, the interviewers next asked for suggestions concerning the facilitation of such a scheme. The question was put as follows: If the Durban authorities feel that integration will come about sooner or later, what should they do now? How should they go about it?

TABLE 14

SUGGESTED STRATEGIES TO FACILITATE INTEGRATION  
RESIDENTS AND TOURISTS. (TWO RESPONSES ALLOWED)

<u>CATEGORY LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>CASES</u>	<u>% OF</u>
Integrate all beaches immediately	33	18.6	
Integrate one beach first as experiment	31	17.5	
No integration	22	12.4	
Integrate one beach only: no others	20	11.3	
Integrate after a referendum	16	9.0	
Don't know	16	9.0	
Integrate with minimum publicity	14	7.9	
Provide extra police, beach officials, & attendants	7	4.0	
Integrate non-white beaches only	5	2.8	
Put up barriers	5	2.8	
Integration after provision of new facilities	4	2.3	
Integration with maximum publicity	4	2.3	
Integration after psychological preparation of public	4	2.3	
Distance integrated beach as far as possible from others	4	2.3	
Integration after passing appropriate legislation	4	2.3	
Integrate North Beach first	3	1.7	
Consent of residents needed first	2	1.1	
Integration after provision of extra parking	1	0.6	
Put up signboard 'Multiracial Beach'	1	0.6	
	213	120.3	

It can be seen that from a potential maximum of 360 responses only 213 were collected. 16 of the respondents had nothing to offer, therefore responses came from 164, or 91% of the sample. The most obvious inference to be drawn from the above table is that all but 12.4% of responses indicated an acceptance of the

the inevitability of intergration; only the rigidly opposed rejected the assumption outright (12.4%). Of those who resisted the idea of integration less strenuously, 11.3% of responses were in favour of one integrated beach and no others at any time, and 2.8% in favour of integration on non-white beaches only; another 2.8% advocated the putting up of barriers and 2.3% the distancing of the multiracial beach. In total the negative responses amounted to 31.6% out of 120.3%. It was found by the interviewers that respondents in general were vague about the powers of the City Council and that they expressed their views loosely.

Examples of respondents' answers to the question of strategies:

- 1) 'They should open one or some beaches to leave people with a choice.'
- 2) 'Run a publicity campaign to inform people, then after 2 or three months introduce integration. People must know exactly what is happening.'
- 3) 'If they want to go ahead with integration they should do it quietly and slowly without making an issue of it.'
- 4) 'I have no idea; I couldn't say.'
- 5) 'Let one beach be integrated and see how it goes before thinking about doing it all along the beachfront.'
- 6) 'I can't really say anything because it's going to happen sooner or later.'
- 7) 'I don't know. Be careful - try to prevent crowding.'
- 8) 'They should provide more litter bins if they are going ahead with integrating the beaches.'

Faced with the fact that integration is inevitable, the results of the survey reflected in Table 14 indicate that apart from the minority who were opposed on racial grounds, whites would accept the change. The voicing of conditions - e.g. 'Integration after provision of new facilities', and, 'After provision of extra police, beach officials and attendants', shows a natural anxiety and a dependence on the authorities to ensure the correct administration. Clearly defined strategies - e.g. 'Put up barriers', or 'Integrate after passing appropriate legislation', - were the exception, while the matter of publicity was raised by two opposing groups: 7.9% of responses advocated integration with minimum publicity and only 2.3% favoured maximum publicity. Short term strategies included integration of all beaches immediately (11.6%), integration of one beach as an experiment

(17.5%): Long term strategies were those dictated by caution - e.g. 'After a referendum' (9.0%) 'After psychological preparation of the public' (2.3%) 'After provision of new facilities' (2.3%).

TABLE 15                      ASSESSMENT OF RESPONDENT

<u>CATEGORY LABEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Favours full integration	51	28.3
Favours one integrated beach; no others	30	16.7
Favours full integration with pragmatic concerns	16	8.9
Favours full integration with safeguards	10	5.6
Favours full integration, but fears of various kinds	8	4.4
Favours full integration with signs of ambivalence	6	3.3
Favours one integrated beach for a start	7	3.9
Favours integration in the future, not now	6	3.3
Favours integration of non-white beaches only	3	1.7
No integration, but with signs of ambivalence	20	11.1
No integration - firm	17	9.4
No integration - rigid	6	3.3
	<u>130</u>	<u>100.0</u>

There is evidence from the statistics displayed in Table 15 that residents and tourists are showing positive signs of readiness to accept integration of the Durban beaches. In a careful assessment of the respondents it is interesting to note that the largest single category - 28.3% - favour full integration with no conditions attached and no fears expressed. At the other end of the scale those rigidly against integration, firmly against, and against with signs of ambivalence accounted for 23.8%. Between these two extremes 52.1% of respondents favoured integration in varying degrees and with the expression of various doubts, fears, reservations and conditions. It was in this middle group that most of the issues raised in Chapter One were encountered and where hesitancy, lack of information, apathy and a tendency to sit back and see what happens without the responsibility of making a commitment were reflected.

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It was noted in the American studies that expressed antagonism towards integration did not coincide with behaviour after it had come into operation. Ref. Arnold M. Rose 'Intergroup Relations v. Prejudice' - quoted in Chapter 2.

A further breakdown of the 51% who appear to represent the body of public opinion reveals that 16.7% favour one integrated beach and no others, while 1.7% favoured integration of the non-white beaches only. Thus there remains a significant 28.4% of this group positively in favour of ultimate integration: when added to the 28.3% who had no reservations it would seem that the trend is towards a realistic adoption of racial mixing, if not immediately, then at some time in the future.

- 1) In considering the attitudes of residents and tourists the statistics showed that:

Of 115 residents

58, or 54.4% favoured integration  
 36, or 31.3% were against integration  
 21, or 18.2% favoured one integrated beach only

Of 65 tourists

46, or 70.7% favoured integration  
 10, or 15% were against integration  
 9, or 13.8% favoured one integrated beach only

The sample thus indicates that tourists are more ready to accept integration than residents. This discrepancy could partly be accounted for by the inequality of the samples and by the fact that 13 of the tourists - i.e. 20% - were foreign visitors.

- 2) The statistics also demonstrated that:

Of 99 males

57, or 57.5% favoured integration  
 23, or 23.2% were against integration  
 19, or 19.2% favoured one integrated beach only

Of 80 females

47, or 58.7% favoured integration  
 22, or 27.5% were against integration  
 11, or 13.7% favoured one integrated beach only

One concludes that there is no significant difference between the attitudes of males and females.

- 3) The next comparison concerned the age groups and for this purpose two categories were considered - viz. under 30 years and over 30 years; i.e. 85 and 94 respondents respectively.

Of 85 males and females under 30 years:

55, or 64.7% favoured integration

18, or 21.1% were against integration

12, or 14% favoured one integrated beach only

Of 94 males and females over 30 years:

49, or 52.1% favoured integration

27, or 28.7% were against integration

18, or 19.1% favoured one integrated beach only .

This provides evidence of the slightly more progressive outlook of the younger group.

These findings may be summarized as follows:

- 1) There were more tourists than residents who favoured integration.
- 2) There was no significant difference in the attitudes of males and females.
- 3) Those in the younger age-groups tended to have a more favourable attitude towards integration.

## CHAPTER 1V

## SUMMARY

In summing up the results of the survey carried out on Battery Beach 1 in May 1982 the points made in Chapter One will be reviewed and the findings compared with the social issues which were prevalent in the United States in the 1950s.

## Section 2 of the questionnaire.

### THE THEORETICAL ISSUES

1) Those white beach-users most likely to resist the proposal to integrate Battery Beach 2 were residents in the beach-front area, with a tendency for older people to be less flexible in their views. The least resistance could be expected in the under 30 age-group, with tourists more open-minded than residents. Those who favoured integration in principle showed signs of being cooperative and tolerant, while the 23.3% of the sample who advocated total, immediate integration were among the most likely to cooperate actively in change.

2) In the present survey 63.9% of the beach-users were residents and 36.1% tourists. It was recognized that this ratio would have been different at the height of the holiday season. Males and females were fairly evenly distributed i.e. 55% males and 45% females. Of the age-groups those in the 20-29 category were predominant, accounting for 40.6% of the total sample. (Only adults over 18 years were interviewed)

Of the 36.1% of tourists, the majority were in Durban for the long weekend only; the average length of stay for those on holiday was 7-14 days..

The visiting patterns showed that a substantial number of residents use the beaches regularly and that visitors are likely to return. While 47.8% of Battery Beach 1 users were habitual users of this beach, there was considerable movement up and down the Natal coast on a regular basis.

In general tourists and residents were attracted to Battery Beach 1 because it was less crowded, easily accessible and cleaner than the other Durban beaches. Also the facilities were of good quality and the environment attractive.

The chief criticisms of the Durban beachfront area - other than Battery Beach 1 - were that it is crowded and littered, with

Pollution of the sand, inadequate parking and facilities, and noisy. A letter listing these complaints was sent to the Senior Beach Architect for presentation to the City Council.

3) (Section II of the Questionnaire.)

Mild surprise was the reaction most often encountered when respondents were told that the adjacent beach (Battery Beach II) was to become multiracial. Concern for overcrowding was expressed by 47.2% of the sample, while matters such as the pollution of the beach, bad behaviour, noise, thefts and assaults were raised by some. Respondents indicated that they would continue to use Battery Beach I and that they did not foresee any major problems. The prevailing attitude appeared to be one of acceptance.

4) There was a more definite reaction to the question of usage of the new beach, with 33.3% of respondents giving an unqualified 'YES' and 32.2% saying 'NO' for racial reasons. Objections on racial grounds were more prevalent among residents and among females, while young males tended to show least prejudice. The maintenance of social distance was more likely to be mentioned by females but males contributed to this factor by expressing a need to protect their womenfolk from the advances of non-whites.

5) In assessing why people insist on social distance the findings of the survey cannot be specific as the questionnaire was not structured to elicit such opinions and the spontaneous remarks of the respondents were not very revealing. Cultural habits, lack of information about other race-groups, prejudice engendered by fear - all play a part in the insistence on segregation. The belief in the 'low-classness' of non-whites is widespread and the negative points raised in Table 12 indicate class-consciousness as strongly as racism.

6) The survey clearly showed that the problem of overcrowding loomed greater in peoples' minds than racial mixing. The authorities responsible for the Durban beachfront have this aspect of administration under constant surveillance. There is some evidence from the visiting patterns that residents and tourists



would move away from Durban in search of less crowded conditions and to beaches where the environment was less affected.

7) There appeared to be little likelihood of active obstruction to the desegregation of Battery Beach II. Members of the sample tended to accept the inevitable, even if they would not go out of their way to cooperate. Tourists raised fewer objections than residents and there was more positive acceptance in the younger age-groups. Some practical strategies were suggested, but the majority of respondents were not sufficiently well-informed to offer anything other than vague recommendations. Long-term strategies stemmed from those with cautious and ambivalent attitudes, while short-term policies, such as immediate integration of all beaches, were offered by the largest single group (18.6%). The provision of new facilities, including car-parks, was the most practical forward-looking suggestion.

8) From the survey sample there would seem to be evidence that beach-users are prepared to accept change and that with the exception of a few extreme right-wing reactionaries, the general public will follow the trend of greater racial tolerance, social mixing within reason and a better understanding of the needs of their fellowmen.

#### Significance of the Pilot Study

Although only a very small, randomly chosen sample was involved in the pilot study, the material collected was consistent with the general findings of the survey. Three of the ten subjects - (one was interviewed twice, bringing the number of cases up to 11) - came out strongly against integration, four favoured full integration, and three agreed to it with reservations.

#### SECTION 2

##### THE AMERICAN STUDIES

Among other things the work done on desegregation in the United States in the 1950s made it clear that although there were broadly general trends, attitudes varied greatly, even in the

Many factors influenced the key issues - e.g. whether the population was rural or urban; whether it was of higher or lower status; whether or not there was a history of authoritarianism, etc. However (we quote again the Association Of American Geographers)'...there appears to exist a universal pattern of refusal to share social space once the black population reaches some critical level.' In the present survey this has been borne out by the expressions of concern over crowding and swamping. However, the survey has also given reason to believe that a similar pattern of sequence will prevail. To recap:

Stages already passed in the beach issue.

- i) proposal for desegregation by responsible authority - i.e. the Durban City Council.
- ii) initial reaction by whites - i.e. an outcry reported in the press.
- iii) resistance to change accompanied by action - i.e. protest meetings by beachfront residents

Stages that can be anticipated.

- iv) elimination of certain fears through contact.
- v) withdrawal of those for whom desegregation is unacceptable.
- vi) Acceptance of the new order in varying degrees.

Social Distance. Although no attempt was made in the survey to isolate socio-economic groups it was established that the majority of respondents lived in the more affluent Durban suburbs or were staying at a nearby international hotel. Therefore the insistence on social distance among this relatively high status group was not an overriding feature. Cultural differences were often mentioned, but they were more firmly emphasized by those respondents whose attitudes were characteristically prejudiced and authoritarian. There appears to be a trend towards more contact and an awareness of the desirability of sharing the environment and amenities with other race groups. Many of the respondents who stressed that 'people like to mix with their own kind' saw this as a practical issue and not a racial one.

Prejudice

That white South Africans are prejudiced against South Africans of other race groups has been assumed as part of a stereotype and certainly this was encountered during the course of the survey. However, there were positive signs of the weakening of

prejudice and of a willingness to do away with the rigid barriers of apartheid. Inasmuch as the unknown is feared, prejudice is a convenient defence mechanism. At present there are no strategies to engender ego-involvement in the desegregation issue for the general public, as recommended by the American researchers, but it is pertinent to note from reportings in the press that those who are in contact and personally involved, such as city councillors and beach officials, pay scant attention to prejudice. They are chiefly concerned with the practical matters of administration.

With more contact among the race groups Rose's opinion that... + 1  
'race prejudice of itself is a negligible factor in the pattern of inter-group relations' may well be corroborated and that, as he says, the problems of desegregation should '...be looked for in terms of legal, economic, political and social structures.' South African society has a history of authoritarianism, which is a predisposition for prejudice. This trait does, however, show signs of being less ingrained now than in past generations. There are also signs that as Loeb remarked, people appear to be + 2  
relieved or grateful when the law, (or the authorities,) take prejudice out of their hands.

The American readings give a panorama of the positive and negative social issues involved in desegregation programmes and provide valuable insight into the processes of change, the handling of resistance, the vagaries of human behaviour and the problems to be avoided.

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1) See Chapter 2 - 'Intergroup Relations v Prejudice' - Rose

2) See Chapter 2 - 'Kansas City Does Its Duty' - Loeb

CONCLUSION

The statistics produced by the survey carried out in May 1982 on Battery Beach I indicate that although there is considerable resistance to change, the decision by the Durban City Council to declare Battery Beach II a multiracial beach has not met with the degree of opposition anticipated. This reflects the trend of opinion in South Africa towards a willingness to acknowledge the rights of all race groups and a growing concern for more social contact.

The importance of confident handling by the authorities responsible for proposing and implementing strategies has been demonstrated. Provided the practical problems of overcrowding can be handled efficiently there is reason to believe that the initial step towards desegregation will be successful and will lead to further developments.

The sample in this particular survey provides evidence that the willingness of white South Africans to view change realistically has been underestimated. While there is no likelihood of consensus in the near future, and while it is acknowledged that 51% of the sample attached conditions, reservations and doubts to the concept of desegregation, those who favoured integration unconditionally accounted for 28.3%. The fact remains that only 23.8%, of whom 11.1% show signs of ambivalence, were against the proposal.

Jay Nivison  
DURBAN  
January 1983

## APPENDIX

### CONTENTS

- 1) Abstract of informal interviews (Pilot Study)
- 2) Report of meeting in City Hall, Durban
- 3) Questionnaire
- 4) Draft of letter to Senior Beach Architect
- 5) Checklist
  - i) Political
  - ii) Other

ABSTRACT OF INFORMAL INTERVIEWS (Pilot Study)

1) Incident

An Indian beach attendant off duty approached us with a story of finding two young girls sunbathing in the dunes. He alleged that they were about to be attacked by a knife-wielding African. He warned the girls off. His comment to us was: 'Mixing, it's all right overseas, but not here. It will never work. You can't mix the blacks with the whites, it's dangerous.'

2) First Conversation with kiosk proprietor 27.4.82

He did not think integration of the beaches would ever come about because it would not work. He pointed out that any foreign blacks could legally use any beach, and this included residents of the Transkei. He said it would spoil everything to have hordes of blacks on the beaches and that the locals would not put up with it. Integration might be tried on the African Beach, which was the worst anyway, and filthy. We did not want that filth here.

3) Technikon Student - age 23 male 27.4.82

He believed that no one would notice the difference if the beaches were integrated; no one would mind. People would stick to their old habits and haunts and go on mixing with their own kind.

4) University Student - age 20 female 1.5.82

She did not object to blacks on the beaches but she did object to crowds, whatever their colour. She resented the invasion of the beaches by up-country visitors, but would be quite prepared to swim with blacks. She made distinctions among the race-groups, having a positive attitude towards Zulus and Indian women and a negative attitude towards Indian men and Coloureds; she would not be prepared to share the beach with the latter as they frightened and disgusted her.

She felt there would be little change in the beach population if total integration were introduced as people like keeping to their own groups.

ii)

5) Female holidaymaker from Pretoria, English-speaking age 40+  
8.5.82

This holidaymaker was staying at a nearby international hotel and was very interested to be shown the beach that was in the news (Snake Park Beach at the time). She said that integration had to come: 5,000,000 whites could not continue to monopolize the best parts of the country. People would accept integration when they found it inevitable. She would swim with other race-groups - 'After all, the sea purifies everything.'

6) Second Interview with Kiosk Proprietor - 7.5.82

He expressed disgust at the proposal to declare Snake Park an open beach but was glad it was not to be Battery Beach I. He anticipated protests from the residents and spoke of parking congestion, noise, filth etc. He was also concerned about the cost of building new facilities. It was to be hoped that someone would put a stop to the whole scheme.

7) Resident ex-Hollander business man - age + - 60

An aggressive and prejudiced subject, he became very heated, saying integration was 'a terrible thing'. The blacks had done nothing to develop the country on their own initiative and now they wanted to take it over. The Prime Minister was giving the country away. He spoke of overcrowding, of racial problems in the U.K. and the U.S.A. and of the madness of appeasing the blacks. There would be no room on the beaches for whites; the blacks are overrunning everything as they are in the U.S.A. A rigid supporter of apartheid, he blamed S. Africa's high inflation rate on the policy of appeasement.

8) Young Married Couple from Johannesburg, now Resident in Durban .  
16.5.82

They were not surprised that the residents were up in arms over the Snake Park Beach proposal; the beach would be overrun and muggings would increase. The proposal to have a turnstile and to charge an entrance fee was dismissed as rubbish. There were

iii)

miles of coastline in the homelands, and special beaches in Durban. The blacks had nothing to complain about. Filth, litter, overcrowding, the necessity for strong law-enforcement and patrolling were mentioned; also possible violence. Low-status whites from the Transvaal would cause trouble because the blacks would make passes at their womenfolk. Up-country visitors in general would not like integrated beaches and they certainly would not use an integrated beach or allow their children to do so. If people wanted integration they could go ahead, but not in the middle of Durban .

9) Letter from an English Visitor      24.5.82

Her first reaction to hearing of the proposed integration of the beaches was one of horror, but this could have been because of the possible overcrowding. She felt that the beaches would absorb everyone if all beaches were multiracial and that people would stay with their own kind as they always have. Multiracial beaches would not deter her from returning to Durban.

10) Conversation with two English immigrant couples ages 25 - 30  
5.5.82

They were not accustomed to the idea of integration and felt it did no good to have separate beaches. Racial violence in the U.K. could be blamed on a few agitators.

In the short time they had been employed in S. Africa the men said that they had got along very well with the blacks, but felt that they preferred to keep to their own groups, as the whites did.

There was plenty of room for all on the beaches and people did not behave badly when they were enjoying their leisure.

Litter was a bigger problem than desegregation and all race-groups should be educated to use the litter bins.

11) Female beach-user - 40 +      16.5.82

To this liberally-minded subject there should be no question about throwing all the beaches open. The integration of the



iv)

beaches would pass off as uneventfully as the opening of the Public Library to all races. The restriction of coaches to certain car parks, which was common practice everywhere, would prevent gross overcrowding. It would be wrong to charge for entry to any beach: the preference people had for being with their own social groups would keep the beach population evenly distributed.

There was no reason to believe that incidents on multiracial beaches would be a feature of integration.

REPORT OF MEETING IN CITY HALL ON THE BEACH INTEGRATION ISSUE HELD ON  
MONDAY 14.6.1982

---

The meeting took the form of a debate in which a motion was put, after which Mr. Kiaruz spoke for the motion that the position should remain as it was - he stressed that he was not a racist and that he and the Ward 1 Ratepayers Association were not necessarily opposed to the principle of desegregation but they objected to:

- 1) not being consulted; and
- 2) having a desegregated beach in their area - as it would lead to overcrowding, etc., and to over-spill into white areas.

Chairman of Manco, Mr. McClennan spoke against the motion and explained why a change in the status quo was necessary. He promised that adequate provision for eating, parking and other facilities would be made to cope with crowding and prevent spilling over into white areas. He pointed out that Durban made no provision for people who wished to integrate and that whites still have about 2 100 metres of segregated beach to go to.

After that the meeting was thrown open to the floor. The age and type of speakers from the floor seemed a fair reflection of the composition of the audience. Most speakers were over 50, were beachfront residents and were strongly opposed to this or even any integrated beach. Those who spoke in favour of an open beach were not beachfront residents and tended to be younger. Almost all of the non-beachfront residents who were against beach integration were either well-known right-wingers such as Dave Taylor (who used the word 'charras') or representatives of right-wing organisations such as the CP, the White Rhino Club, Wake-UI, the S.A. First Campaign and the NRP and identified themselves as such. A large number of those in favour of opening beaches were representatives of the PFP, Women for Peaceful Change, the National Council for Women, the UND SRC, etc., etc. - all these speakers were booed and hissed at. Three LAC (2 Indian and 1 Coloured) representatives spoke - they were generally not hissed at - but their views were faithfully ignored.

2.

The views expressed tended to be put in rather extreme racist terms.

The main objections however centre around:

- 1) A fear of violence, rape, muggings, etc. etc.
- 2) The fear that white girls would be "leered at" by black men.
- 3) A fear that this was the beginning of a takeover of the whole beachfront and the whole of Durban by blacks.
- 4) A fear that the peace and quiet of the area would be disturbed.
- 5) A fear of litter and dirt.
- 6) A fear that property prices may go down.
- 7) The view that whites were the main providers of rates and taxes to the city and that whites were thus under only a minimal obligation to provide facilities for other races.
- 8) The view that the whites had been pushed back enough and that it was time to call a halt to the process by which the white man was pushed back and made to concede more and more.
- 9) The view that Transvaal and OFS tourists would stop coming to Durban.
- 10) Blacks were primitive and would walk around naked.

It was an extremely noisy and emotional meeting in which some very basic fears were expressed in some very racist terms - speakers implied that they were not prepared to share any facilities with anyone not white - in spite of denials that the motion was racially motivated, by Mr. Kiaruz.

However, in perspective one should consider that only 310 people in Durban felt sufficiently opposed to the idea to sit through a protest meeting called to protest against beach desegregation - most of these people were elderly beachfront residents - the beach, however, does not belong only to them and it seems by this response that those who are opposed feel particularly strongly and emotionally about it; but that the majority of Durban residents would probably not care about the issue either way.

Gys Dubbeld.

Confidential

CASS.39/82

Centre for Applied Social Sciences  
University of Natal  
1982

SURVEY OF BEACH FACILITIES

INTERVIEW IN PAIRS

Introduction:

Hello! We are from the University of Natal, (Centre for Applied Social Sciences). We are doing a survey of Durban's beach facilities. We don't need your name. Will you answer a few questions?

1. "Where is your home" - which part of town or which part of the country?"

----- 

--	--

2. Tourists: "How long are you here for?" ----- days

----- weeks

----- months

--	--	--

3. (ASK ALL) "What attracts you to this beach?"

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----


4. (ASK ALL) "How often do you come to this beach in summer?"  
(Tourists: "While in Durban")

----- daily	1
----- once per week	2
----- once per fortnight	3
----- once per month	4
----- once every 2-3 months	5
----- once a year	6
----- less often than once a year	7
	8

2.

5. "What other beaches do you visit?"

-----  
-----  
-----


6. "How often do you visit any Natal beaches?"  
(Tourists: "While at the coast")

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| ----- daily                       | 1 |
| ----- once per week               | 2 |
| ----- once per fortnight          | 3 |
| ----- once per month              | 4 |
| ----- once every 2-3 months       | 5 |
| ----- once a year                 | 6 |
| ----- less often than once a year | 7 |
|                                   | 8 |

7. "What do you dislike most about Durban beachfront area/s?"  
(Probe: "What else?")

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----


"THANK YOU" (Close folder).

8. "It seems from the papers that they are going to change these beaches - bring in an integrated beach for blacks and everyone THERE (say "there" while pointing to Battery Beach II)  
How do you think people using this beach will feel?"

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal dashed lines, resembling notebook paper. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no text or other markings on the paper.

- [illegible]

- 
- This image shows a full page of white paper with horizontal dashed lines, typical of primary school handwriting practice paper. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

CHECKLIST for interviewer (Circle applicable items immediately after interview.)

A. Mention of the following in response to Questions 8 through 10.:

- |                                       |                        |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Assaults                           | 15. Political, specify |
| 2. Thefts                             | -----                  |
| 3. Indecency                          | -----                  |
| 4. Crowding                           | -----                  |
| 5. Swamping                           | 16. Parking            |
| 6. Pollution (water)                  | 17. Lack of facilities |
| 7. Pollution (beach)                  | 18. Other: -----       |
| 8. Sensitivity change rooms           | -----                  |
| 9. Indecent black dress               | -----                  |
| 10. Noise on beach                    | -----                  |
| 11. Drinking on beach                 | -----                  |
| 12. Bad behaviour on beach            | -----                  |
| 13. Squatting and sleeping on beach   | -----                  |
| 14. Coloureds, Indians but not blacks |                        |

B. Assess Respondent:

1. Favours FULL integration
  2. Favours FULL integration but with pragmatic concerns
  3. Favours FULL integration but with signs of ambivalence
  4. Favours FULL integration but fears of various kinds
  5. Favours FULL integration with safeguards
- 
6. Favours ONE integrated beach but no further integration
  7. Favours ONE integrated beach for Coloureds, Indians, and whites
  8. Favours ONE integrated for a start
- 
9. Integration in future
  10. Integration of "non-white" beaches
- 
11. No integration but with signs of ambivalence
  12. No integration - firm
  13. No integration - rigid

- C. Sex:
1. male
  2. female

- D. Age:
- |            |          |          |
|------------|----------|----------|
| (estimate) | 1. -19   | 3. 30-39 |
|            | 2. 20-29 | 4. 40-49 |
|            |          | 5. 50+   |



Mr. J.R. Yelland,  
Senior Architect-Beachfront (Development).  
Architectural Division of the City Engineers,  
DURBAN.

Memorandum on results of a survey among Durban beach users.

During a survey that was carried out by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences on the Battery Beach over two weekends from 29th May to 6th June 1982 residents and tourists were inter alia asked the following question: 'What do you dislike most about the Durban beachfront area?' The enclosed table shows the range of responses obtained. The table of results is self-explanatory, but some comments pertaining to the rubrics 'quality of sand' and 'other' are apposite.

The first comment refers to the criticism that Durban beaches are 'really filthy'. It is evident that many residents and tourists believe the black titanium deposit to be 'filth', 'oil', 'pollution' and even 'coal-dust'. Few would accept the assurance that the black sand was not 'dirt'. Taken together, the items labelled 'litter', 'dirt' and 'quality of sand' give an impression of the overall image of the beaches.

A number of interesting issues were raised under the heading 'Other'. The most frequently mentioned dislike in the 'other' category was the lack of grass and trees along the main beachfront area: some respondents said the area was ugly; another that a 'better environmental atmosphere was needed'. There was also a complaint that there is no protection from the wind. (This applies especially to Battery Beach). Harrassment by vendors, too many signs; cheap shops; Nick Steyn's amusement park; lack of change-rooms and lockers on the beach; lack of facilities for children except at the paddling pool; and insufficient litter bins were mentioned. One person expressed fear of night-time muggings and another said the beachfront was too quiet at night. Lastly it was felt that the change rooms opened too late and closed too early in the summer.

In the sample only one respondent complained that the beaches had been washed away. There were two suggestions that more of the thatched umbrellas should be provided.

J. Mivison/ V. Höller, Centre for Applied Social Sciences.  
August 1982.

N.B. Table 11, which appears on Page 23, accompanied this letter.

CHECKLISTBEACH SURVEY 1982POLITICAL (15)

- 02 Ex Rhodesia
- 26 Totally against integration
- 27 Beaches should be for everyone
- 29 Totally against blacks
- 31 Racialistic with an eye to change
- 33 Could be tensions between different races
- 50 A liberal; fundamental right that all beaches should be integrated
- 64 A political
- 58 Previous full integration
- 60 Would cause friction between races
- 61 Does not favour integration
- 65 On principle opposed to integration
- 80 Change must come
- 85 More open-minded; English immigrant
- 86 Liberal - minded
- 88 No political bias
- 90 Totally against integration
- 92 Races must be separate
- 93 Races must be separate
- 97 Treunicht group would not like it and may cause trouble
- 8 Some Nats & C.P.s will object to integration
- 34 Bad publicity for S.A. if desegregation only partial
- 38 Danger of friction between races
- 69 Supports apartheid
- 72 Legislation of S.A. should be changed

CHECKLISTOTHER (18)

- 01 Activity beaches
- 8 Upbringing: respondent brought up with cultures kept apart
- 6 Whites want to feel at ease
- 7 Mixing will eliminate bad behaviour
- 8 "It" (bad behaviour) happens on white beaches anyway
- 9 Everything will be ruined; blacks do not understand conservation
- 1 Fear squabbles between black & white
- 3 Africans have different customs & behaviour
- 4 If there should be an integrated beach it should be far away from other white beaches
- 6 Black men looking at white girls is degrading & encourages rape
- 4 Self consciousness ( on part of beach-users)
- 0 Blacks & coloureds on beach but not Indians
- 0 Rejected the idea of barriers between any beaches
- 4 Integrate all beaches or none
- 6 People will be hesitant, but it (integration) is a good thing
- Does not think whites will use integrated beach
- 4 Property values of residential area on beach-front will drop
- 5 Opposed to integration but one beach acceptable
- 10 Process of change may cause trouble
- 12 Possible lack of privacy ( self consciousness of whites )
- 19 Blacks & coloureds but not Indians
- 2 Objects to mixed bathing, but not mixed beach
- 3 Fears some people might object
- 4 Racial incidents; people prefer their own ( separate) facilities.

CHECKLIST

BEACH SURVEY

OTHER (18)

- 87 Make sure facilities are kept clean
- 80 Totall against integration
- 92 Dislikes idea of swimming with blacks
- 94 Self conscious
- 21 Rifidly against any integration
- 23 Other races also against integration
- 27 Works as life-saver; has seen crowds and drunks  
friend was stabbed
- 15 Lower class white drunks willbbeat up blacks
- 20 Lower socia-economic groups coming to beaches will cause trouble
- 29 Murting the feeling of locals
- 34 Segregation bad for tourism; all facilities should be open  
for full utilization of tourist potential
- 36 Most people prefer to stay with own group
- 38 Increased commercialisation and traffic
- 41 Fully in favour of integration
- 42 Supervised change-rooms needed to ensure cleanliness
- 43 Does not favour integration, but accepts its inevitability
- 44 Has some objections on non racial grounds
- 46 Favours adequate control and policing of integrate beach
- 47 Fears unspecified "incidents"
- 57 Favours a barrier between white and integrated beach
- 66 Facilities ruined !
- 75 Blacks would cross located area; use Battery Beach 1 anyway
- 176 Favours one integrated beach only
- 178 Would object to use of beach by Indians
- 180 Concern over "safety"

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